

- 273 the juice of a fern to "make the beer red," is fermented in wooden troughs from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) long made of tree stumps hollowed out by burning and chopping, then closed at both ends with wax. To accelerate fermentation, the beverage is heated every 3d day with red-hot stones and then covered with pieces of bark.

COMMUNICATION

- 202 The *Caingang* leave messages in symbolic code for those who will follow the same path. A stick with honey indicates where a bees nest has been found; dolls and sticks represent a feast to which some group is being invited; an inclined stick shows the time of day at which some event took place; feathers scattered on the ground tell of a successful hunting party, etc. (Manizer, 1930, p. 790). Lozano (1873, 1: 425) stated that to declare war, the *Guayaná* (i. e., the *Caingang*) stuck an arrow into a tree near a path followed by their enemies.
- [574] A circle of maize cobs on the ground or hanging from a tree was an invitation to a drinking bout.

RELIGION

- 771 Religious beliefs.—The *Aweikoma* conceive the world to be
 ● 776 strongly animistic, peopled with ghosts (kuplêng) and spirits (nggî-yúdn) of all sorts who dwell in trees, rocks, mountains, stars, winds, and in large and small animals. To meet a spirit is, as a rule, an ominous event. But spirits may be friendly and appear to a man to offer their aid. Those who are assisted in hunting by a guardian spirit share with it the game which they have killed. A man may even adopt a spirit child and place it in his wife's womb.

- 825 *Aweikoma-Caingang* share the widespread belief that all animals have "masters," that is to say, spirits that control and protect them. Such spirits are willing to give up some of their kin to satisfy men's needs, but are angered if people destroy them wantonly or if hunters refuse an animal "offered" to them.

- 756 Shamanism.—The *Caingang* shaman consults spirits at night, puffing his pipe until he is surrounded by a cloud of smoke. The spirits talk to him in long whistles and tell him where to find a favorable hunting ground or abundant honey. They may also reveal the outcome of an undertaking involving the band.

- 755 Shamans are also doctors, but this role is less conspicuous among
 757 the *Caingang* than elsewhere and is even absent among the *Caingang* of Palmas and of São Paulo. Among the decadent *Aweikoma-Caingang*, observed by Henry (1941, p. 76), shamans only treated members of their immediate family and did not receive a fee for their cures. The shaman knows many magic remedies, generally herbs, the virtues

The Supernatural Monsters

776 Of all the supernatural beings, Yóin is the most terrific. His head, which is very large at the top and crowned with a mop of hair which some say is red and others think is woolly like a Negro's, has a groove down the middle. That is why little Thernbégén, who had an almost imperceptible depression in the middle of his head, was jokingly called Yóin. Yóin's eyes are white and are provided with red lids. His head is always shaking. He has great jaws, and his neck is thick and long. His body is broad and thick, and his belly flashes like a giant firefly as he flies through the sky at night. His buttocks are very narrow and widely separated, and his penis is long and his testicles large. When he walks on the ground he is like a man, but in the air his arms are pressed to his sides and his legs are tight together. He roams about, devouring men, women, and children, and his hands and mouth are red with the blood he has rubbed on them. He carries a little knife with him, and when he seizes a victim, he thrusts his bloody hand up through the anus, cuts out the heart and intestines, and devours them. "Yóin kills people because he is a different thing and never calls men 'my people'."

Then there is "Kuchágn which never dies. It kills people by crushing them, and its mouth is red with the blood of the people it eats. Its arms and ears are like those of a man, but it has a beard like a tiger. Its hard bristles stand out all over it in isolated clumps, and it walks on all fours and makes a noise like a pig. They think it is a pig and they go to look for it, but they never see it. One never sees its body."

"Kangguín saw Kuchágn leaning on a rock. It said to him, 'Why have you come here?' 'I came to look for howler monkeys.' Then he lost consciousness. When he regained consciousness, Kuchágn was there. When Kangguín saw it, he went away. His sister was coming along in the meanwhile shouting for directions, but he did not answer. Then at last Kangguín cried to her. So she came to him. He was yellow. Then she said, 'Brother, why are you yellow?' 'I am sick. I have a pain in the abdomen, I am sick.' Blood came out of the corners of his mouth, and he said, 'I am sick; so do not feed me.' Late at night, Kuchágn came to Kangguín and seized him. It sat on him. Then Kangguín sat up and threw it on his father, and Kuchágn seized the father. When the father felt sick, he threw it on Kangguín again. Kangguín became all black. He was rotten from the chest down. His father was rotten and full of blood. Kangguín stood up and cried, 'Hii' He burst open next day. He was so rotten he was full of holes, but he was alive. His sister asked him, and he said: 'There is a different thing that stands on all fours. Its hair is scattered over its body in clumps. Its mouth is red. I saw it and I am dying. A different thing has killed us.'"

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941

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Wangdjó is also a monster. Some say it is like a tapir, some that it is like a horse; still others think that its nose, eyes, hair, arms, legs, and buttocks are like those of an Indian. "There is no meat on it," and "its backbone sticks up." Its belly flashes as it flies through the trees, and smoke, ashes, and flame pour from its mouth and nostrils.

Like Kuchágn, Yunggi is piglike, and it kills people by shooting them.

Véin was another supernatural. He was good-looking. He looked just like a man; he was smooth and had no body hair at all. He walked on the earth like a human being and never flew through the air. He had red eyelids and an enormous penis, and his testicles were as large as those of a horse. His sexual desire kept pace with his corporeal endowments, for he wished to copulate with women constantly. In folklore he suffers death twice: once when he sodomizes Padnmbá, who kills him for it by throwing bees' sugar into his mouth, and on another occasion when, after eating several communities of people,⁴ he is killed by a shaman.

This pantheon is rather a nightmare, but the Kaingáng are not so consistent in their thinking as they are in their dreaming. They call all supernatural beings, whether good or bad, *nggiyúdn* and confuse the malevolent with the benign, with the result that occasionally Yóin and Véin appear in benevolent roles. For a long time, for example, Yóin was a man's hunting companion and used to tell him where to find tapirs, and once Yóin told another man where he could find howler monkeys. But advantageous contacts with Yóin and Véin are rare, they are predominantly frightful characters to the Kaingáng.

As malevolent personalities Yóin and Véin are apt to be confused, at least in name, with any evil-working supernatural. "One night," said Klendó, "I died. A tapir that was an *nggiyúdn* that was a woman came and led me off and I went around with her. Then I came back and recovered. Next day they asked me about it, and I became well. Yóin did this to me. She wanted me to copulate with her, but I would not. I was young and that is why she wanted to take me away."

Spirits of the Natural World

The ghost-soul is called *kupléng*,⁵ but together with the monsters and the spirits of the natural world, it is also called *nggiyúdn*. The spirits of the natural world dwell everywhere—in trees, under the water, in rocks, and in cliffs. They inhabit the sun and the moon and the stars, and animate the wind and the storm. There are the spirits of the tapir, the deer, the squirrel, the snake, and all other animals and insects. These spirits may appear to humans in their natural form or in the shape of human beings.

⁴ This act is attributed by some to Yóin.

⁵ Plural, *nggipéng*.

774 A monkey may address a man from a treetop, or "the tapir that is a super-
 776 natural-being that is a man" [or woman] may suddenly appear to a hunter. Water's Talking, the *nggiyúdn* of the waters, is an alligatorlike monster whose principal occupation is to seduce women when they come to fetch water. Spirits may confer supernatural powers, but encounters with them are just as often disastrous as they are beneficial. "A man sees an animal in the forest, and it says to him, 'Why do you come? You frightened me.' 'I come hunting.' 'You will not see any animals. Go away! Go back!' Then he goes away, and when he returns to camp, he tells the people and dies." Characteristically enough, when a Kaingáng meets the supernatural, the attitude is one of mutual distrust; the Indian fears the spirit, and the spirit fears him. Sometimes the spirit invites the Indian to visit his house, but the Indian is usually afraid for his life and goes away.

Snake said to Kemblén,⁶ "Come and look at my house." So he went there and saw the tremendous number of offspring the snake had. They were like human children. "My children are here," said the snake; "take one of them." But Kemblén was frightened and said nothing. "Do not tell about having seen me," admonished Snake. But Kemblén told of his experience, and Snake became angry and bit him. That is how Kemblén lost his hand. "If he had not told, he would not have been bitten." The spirits tolerate a refusal to visit them or even to adopt one of their children, but they cannot endure anyone's telling about having seen them. Whoever reveals his experience with a spirit dies or falls sick, and if he has already received power from that spirit he loses it. But sometimes encounters with spirits are useful.

My informant Vomblé, for example, met Bee, who appeared to him in the form of a man. "He said to me: 'Live with me in my house. If you live with me, you will not be hungry. In my house it is warm even when it is cold. I am going to place some food aside for you.' I asked him, 'Where is your house?' and he said, 'It is here.' His honey was in the hollow of a tree. It was the door of his house. But I became afraid that I would be killed; so I said, 'I am going away. Later I will come back to you.' And I went away. But Bee said to me, 'When you go, you may be hungry;' so he showed me where there were honey and jacutingas, saying: 'Shoot some. Then go beyond and you will see howler monkeys on a pine tree. Shoot them all. Some may go away.' So next day I looked at the hive and told Angnelo⁷ to cut it out. 'That is what Bee showed me,' said I. She chopped the tree down. It was a big hive, but I did not eat any of the honey because I was afraid since I had seen a *nggiyúdn*. I also shot the jacutingas. I saw another hive. I met my father, and when I was walking along with

⁶ See p. 77.

⁷ His step-mother. Deceased.

him, he asked me whether I had seen any honey. 'Yes,' said I, 'it is the one that Bee told about; so I came this way to look and saw it. I also shot the jacutingas he told me about.' My father chopped out the hive—there was a great deal of honey in it, but I ate none of it. I told him about the howler monkeys, and next day we went to look for them. After that I saw no more of Bee." 774
776

Since Vomblé told about his meeting with Bee he never saw the spirit again. It is not characteristic for people having these experiences to abstain from the fruits of their good fortune, and as far as I have been able to discover, this abstinence on the part of Vomblé was a matter of personal choice. Vomblé is not a shaman, and the economic benefits he received from the supernatural were only temporary. Yet one visitation yielded him something of permanent value, for it rendered him immune to all sickness. Once he was so sick that he became unconscious. While he lay there, he saw Moon. "He came down. He was like a cord—white. He came down with his wife, Star. Moon had a potsherd and there was medicine in it. He said to me, 'What is killing you?' 'I have a head- and chest-ache. My body is sick and I cannot stand.' Moon kneaded me and felt of me. He poured medicine over my body and head, and I recovered. I fell asleep. Moon was a little man. Now I am never sick."²

One of the ways in which mortals may establish permanent and friendly relations with the spirits is to adopt one of their children. One of Amendó's children [the Amendó of many husbands] was a bee child. She took one of the spirit's children and placed it in her womb, and ever after that she was able to find beehives easily. Another story tells how a man adopted a child of the monkey spirit. It looked like a human being and remained devoted to him like his own child. It deflected the arrows of his enemies, and when they tried to knock trees down on top of his house to crush him, it caused the trees to fall on the attackers. Sometimes men take the children of spirits and put them into their wives' wombs, from which they later emerge in the form of human children. Even if a spirit is adopted in its animal form and even if it never confers power of any kind, it is loved like a pet, and its death is avenged like the death of a human being. A highly affective relationship with the supernatural is the only kind of friendly relationship that is intelligible to the Kaingang. Another kind of friendly tie with a spirit is phrased in terms of the hunting-companion relationship. Having a guardian spirit involves "going around with it" and "living with" it, just as one does with a hunting companion or in one's extended family. When the Kaingang describe a shaman's relation to his guardian spirit or spirits, they say that "he saw it all the time."

² Vomblé is one of the most resistant of the Kaingang and was one of the few who did not fall ill during the influenza epidemic in 1933.

777 The characteristic North American guardian spirit experience in which
 796 an individual sees his benefactor once only and receives a token from him is unknown to the Kaingáng, to whom the only earnest of security is continuous, unbroken contact. All lasting relations with the spirits are expressed systematically in the habitual mode—"all the time." The Kaingáng do not say that the spirit did so and so. They say it "would [i.e. regularly] do so and so." So Ketédn,⁹ who could walk dry through a downpour, "used to see *nggiyúdn*. He saw Yóin and used to go out with him and shoot tapirs. Yóin would say: 'Yágn, there is a tapir,' and Ketédn would shoot it." Although "living with" the spirits does not involve intermarriage and sharing of wives, as it may on the human level, it does imply the sharing of food. A quarter must be left for the spirit that has shown one where to
 [782] kill a tapir, and honey must be shared with one's supernatural benefactor. Kakthí¹⁰ "saw Snake, who told her to get honey, and she always shared it with him." Such a division of food is not conceived as a sacrifice or as a payment for goods received but simply as the same kind of sharing that exists between hunting companions or among members of the same extended family.

Shamanism¹¹ and Curing

776 A guardian spirit came to one through an accidental encounter or through being "pointed out" by a shaman, i.e. one who already "had been seeing it" for a long time. The preliminary mortification of the flesh—the fasting and self-torture—that are found over wide areas in North America where the vision is known was foreign to the Kaingáng. Nor did the Kaingáng prescribe any training for those who were to receive guardian spirits. The spectacular visions that are features of the guardian-spirit quest in North America were unknown. Kaingáng visions of spirits of the natural world were very simple: "One day Ketédn bent down to drink from a pool. When he looked up over his shoulder, he saw Toad, who said to him, 'Yágn, why do you come?' 'I am looking for tapir.' 'You will not see tapir, you will see *tateti*.'"¹² Then Ketédn shot *tateti*." Many visions were of this simple character. Some were invitations, like Vomblé's vision of Bee, who invited him to come to his house. Occasionally someone lost consciousness through fear of the spirit and was told where to find animals while lying senseless, but there was rarely any visual or auditory elaboration of detail. The very appearance of the spirits remained vague, for they were described simply as looking like human beings or like the animals they represented. Encounters with the ghost-soul or dreams of supernatural

⁹ See p. 43.

¹⁰ See fn. p. 67.

¹¹ There are no Kaingáng shamans today; the few there were have died.

¹² An animal scrambling a pig that lives in burrows on hillsides. It is about two feet long and somewhat less in height.

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monsters at night have more definite content. This is consonant with the fact that the Kaingáng have devoted much more interest and imagination to the elaboration of the fearful aspects of their supernatural world than to the benign. 776 ●

With Ketédn's simple vision of Toad compare the following horrible dream that Vomblé had of the *nggiyúdn* before Véye died: "I was the first one to see that the *nggiyúdn* ate Véye. I saw the *nggiyúdn* come with Véye. I saw that they were going to kill him, and I said to them, 'Why do you want to kill Véye?' But they said nothing. Then they said, 'He is a pig.' 'It is Véye [said Vomblé]; I used to go around with him.' They took hoes and led Véye off. I said, 'Leave him alone.' But they killed Véye with hoes. 'Why did you kill him?' 'It is a pig.' 'It is a human being, and it is taboo for you to eat it.' They seized his feet and tore him apart. I protected him. I thought I was dreaming. They put salt on him and ate him. When they ate him, it was taboo. I almost vomited. 'Come and eat [they said], it is like tapir's marrow.' But it was capavary.¹³ Then I vomited and sat up. I ate dirt and almost vomited. Next day I told Véye, 'They roasted your ribs with salt,' but Véye said I was lying. Three days later he died."

Horror and the impulses to murder and cannibalism which the Kain-776 gáng constantly and compulsively express are much more congenial to 756 their imagination than the warm relationships with beneficent spirits of the 224 natural world. It is true that guardian spirits are often mentioned in Kain-539 gáng folklore, but most frequently simply as incidents in a murder tale. Stories whose central theme is a relationship with a guardian spirit are extremely rare. Being "shown" a spirit was as simple an experience as seeing it oneself. One day while an Indian was out with someone who had been seeing a spirit, the shaman would say to him casually, "Go over there and shoot those howler monkeys," and always after that the Indian would see supernatural Howler Monkey and find howler monkeys very easily. Such an experience might be accompanied by darkness and wind, but generally it was not.

"Yokégn was a shaman. He saw Fish and Wasp. He went hunting, and when he came back, he said to his wife: 'Let us go to the fish I saw. I'm going to get some for them [the children].' So his wife emptied a basket and carried it along with her. When they reached the spot, the water was shallow and there were some [fish] in it. Then he said to her, 'Come over here and have a look.' When she approached, she saw its men¹⁴ in there. She stood there looking, and at last, he [her husband] asked, 'Did you see?' 'Yes,' she replied. 'Let us go now to the other fish that one eats all the time. They are good. Catch some of them.' So she took her basket and entered [the stream]. The shallow water came toward her in waves. She put her

¹³ An amphibious rodent (*hydrochoerus capybara*) two feet long and twenty inches high.

¹⁴ Fish in anthropomorphic form.

756 basket in the water for the fish, and they came along and plumped into it.
 224 He showed her so that he and she might both see it all the time." The
 776 essential features of this very mild incident are the simple nature of the instruction and the division of the fish species into supernatural untouchables and natural touchables. This was characteristic of every animal category—some of it was recognizable by the shaman as supernatural, and the rest was natural and might be killed and eaten. When we remember that the spirit a person sees constantly is his close friend and companion, we can readily understand this cautious examination of the scene by the shaman and his painstaking selection of the animals to be killed and those to be left alone. Some of them are children of his friend, and the rest are simply animals which the spirit gives to him for food.

Spirits control their species and keep them in inclosures from which they let them out from time to time. When they are angered, either because too many have been killed or because some have not been killed, they close them up again and animals become scarce. Failure to bring down an animal is an unfortunate occurrence which annoys the spirit, but refusal to take a tapir or deer or any other animal which the *nggiyúdn* offers is tantamount to refusing food from a human benefactor and can have but one outcome, death. Whoever turns away from quarry pointed out by a spirit
 753 is bound to fall ill and die.

776 The more we examine the ways in which the Kaingáng maintained the bonds that united them with supernatural benefactors, the more we discover that they duplicated in any number of details the complex of relationships and feelings through which security was maintained in their own society. One more point may be added. Over and over again, malevolent supernaturals are referred to by the sinister term of "different thing," but guardian spirits were never called by this term; for "different things" are dangerous things, and guardian spirits were friendly and helpful.

756 Like most primitive peoples, the Kaingáng obtain from spirits some powers to cure disease, but this side of Kaingáng supernaturalism was very slightly developed. In many cultures in which religious values rate high, the powers to cure and kill supernaturally bring great rewards. But the
 754 Kaingáng never killed supernaturally; the most they did in this direction was to throw people into a deep sleep so that they could murder them with lance or club. They did cure through the agency of the supernatural, but the shaman received no pay for his efforts, and his practice was generally limited to his own immediate family. The ministrings of the shaman were viewed as attentions naturally received from a close relative. No shaman ever extended the benefits of his practice outside his own extended family. Kaingáng culture did not define achievement in supernatural terms—shamanistic powers of any kind were not even something to boast about or to plume oneself on. The most that a very powerful shaman got from his

750 of men. One day Klendó, a man about sixty-five, and I were sitting together in my little house discussing the *kupléng*. Gradually clouds gathered in the west. The wind began to mount, and at last with a rush the storm swept up the valley. As the wind increased in violence the look of anxiety intensified on Klendó's face. He gazed with frightened eyes through the window before us, and his mind wandered as he watched in fascination the rivulets of water trickling under the frame. At last the catch on the window that faced the wind snapped, and with a burst of thunder and lightning and a swirl of wind and rain, the window was flung open, drenching the house in an instant and sending my papers flying. Klendó was seized with acute terror, and jumping up with more animation than he had shown in weeks, he dashed to the door, opened it a crack, and bellowed: "My *kóklá*,¹⁰ I am afraid of you; so stop! My *kóklá*, you are angry with me; so you have made the storm!" Thus he shouted to his *kóklá*, his second father, a man with whom he had had a most friendly relationship while he was alive.

"Why was he angry with you?" I asked. "I don't know," he replied, with that petulance that is so characteristic of the Kaingáng when they are frightened. But in the afternoon he had an explanation, for he had stopped to gossip and had learned that Kemblén's grandson had had a quarrel with Yukwáya that very day. Kemblén, "therefore, became angry with her [Yukwáya] and made it dark. Kemblén knew that Yukwáya was angry, and therefore it became dark."

753 In characteristic Kaingáng fashion, people fall sick and die either because
761 they are attacked by some *nggiyúdn* who wishes them ill or because they are
776 seduced or "led off" by one who wants them for company. Thus the causes
of illness and death are oriented toward both extremes of the Kaingáng world-view. In any event, the ultimate cause of death is complete soul-loss. Seduction is accomplished either through invitations to visit a "good country," i.e. where the hunting is good and the honey plentiful, or through sexual stimulation. When Vomblé's father tried to lure him away, it was through promises of plenty, but Klendó almost died because a female *nggiyúdn* wanted him for a sex companion.

776 The defenses against soul-loss are very simple. The victim may simply
761 say, "Let's go back," to those who wish to take him away, or he may renounce his connection with the *nggiyúdn* if it happens to be an unconsummated sexual one. If it is consummated he is lost and soon dies. First he may go mad like Patklé, who copulated with a female *nggiyúdn*, or he may rot inside, like Kulá. Whoever has intercourse with the supernatural will not burn easily on the funeral pyre, and he is an evil omen to his relatives. "One night," said Vomblé, "Kulá called out to her brother: 'Waipó,

¹⁰ Ceremonial father.

lift me up.' When he heard this, he woke up and took hold of her, lifted, 761 and set her down. Then she said to him, 'It seems to me that you copulated 776 with me,' but he replied: 'No! Probably *nggüyádn* copulated with you.' She lay there awhile and at last died. When she was burnt, she exploded. She was *vai* [an evil omen] to them. She lay on her back with her feet in the air. She also said her husband [*Véye*] copulated with her; that is why she died. Probably the *nggüyádn* looked like *Véye*. Her blood came out of her vagina."

Another way of bringing back the errant *kupléng* is through calling it, but it does not always return. "I saw Nggemú's *kupléng*," said Vomblé, "before the Brazilians killed her. I got up at night when the moon was high. Nggemú was sleeping a little to the side. Her *kupléng* sat up. I thought it was she herself. It went out into the darkness. I thought she had gone to urinate, and I waited for her to return. I was awake, and I looked for her. I called out, 'Are you there?' 'Yes. When he [her infant] cried, I sat up.' 'I thought you went that way, and I waited for you.' 'I didn't go; I just sat up.' 'You went that way; I heard your noise.' Then Kuthúgn [her husband] rose and called Nggemú's *kupléng*: 'Come here, Nggemú, come here! Come to the meat you put aside!' He was calling her *kupléng*, but it probably did not come back, for nine days later the Brazilians killed her." It is interesting that mortals often use the same inducement to lure back the wandering *kupléng* as the *nggüyádn* do to draw it away; namely, food. Through the promise of plenty the *kupléng* of a man is lured away by the supernaturals; through food the soul of a dead child is induced to return to its mother's womb, and it was through food that the *kupléng* of Nggemú was tempted to return to Kuthúgn.

Behind the *kupléng*'s wish to snatch away its living relatives is its strong attachment for them, but in the case of the ghost-soul of a dead enemy the motivating force is revenge. When relatives lead off the unwilling *kupléng* it is so that it may be cherished, but enemies seize the soul to punish the body. So, also, when supernatural beings other than ghost-souls take away *kupléng*, it is for similar reasons. Thus the Kaingang imagination follows out its pattern consistently both with *kupléng* and with all other *nggüyádn*.

Kupléng may seduce, "lead off," or capture the souls of mortals, but devouring 1755 and shooting are the privilege of other *nggüyádn*. For devouring 1796 there is no remedy—once a person is eaten, he is consumed and that is all, but for shooting there is a cure, and that is extraction of the missile, a red-dish, wormlike object. Anyone may summon back a wandering soul or even cure sickness with an infusion of herbs or of bark scrapings, but only a shaman who has seen supernatural Pain can extract *shéye*, the missiles which are shot into people by the monster Yunggi or by Pain.

"Tendó was a shaman. She took out men's *shéye*. Her sister Kukú had a 756